"Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violence of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, lever approach, so that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and

second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--143
116, 646, 522, 514

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With 'good talk' from their chiefs, the people will thrive and live to a ripe old age; with 'bad talk', they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan 'over-water heads' for defecation. Wolpetau said: 'If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea.' This was greeted with uproarious laughter."

28: Spiro--21 (1947-48)1949 Woleaians
827, 514, 177, 636 Ifalik

"The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1)."

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

28: Spiro--90 [2]
116, 854, 863, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ikalik

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces

from his thigh. The infant, by this timé, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

28: Spiro--90-91
116, 827, 863, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-7
Ifalik

"Despite the lack of any exaggerated distaste towards faeces, which the infant may learn from his parents, it soon learns that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it. They prevent the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better. ('Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.') [91]

Once he learns to walk and to talk, however, he is only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. 'Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief some, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?'

My observations indicate that few, if any children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been taught. The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes urinate on the ground with impunity, but not in the house.

But the parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents often ask their children if they have defecated, and are alarmed by constipation, so that if the child should not defecate for a few days, he is deemed sick, and is given 'medicine', water and herbs, which ostensibly have a cathartic value. Despite the occurance of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children did not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy."

28: Spiro--129 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 514, 827 Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--130
116, 831, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same verbal taboo applies as well to excretory references. No mention may be made of them in mixed company, not even one's own wife. For example, Tom's brother-in-law was ill, and I brought him some medicine. I wanted to know whether his bowel movement was regular, and asked Tom to ask him. Tom tried but he stuttered and blurted out nothing. Finally, he asked his wife, who was sitting with us, to leave the room. When she left, he could then address my question to his brother-in-law."

29: Spiro--200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 514 Ifalik

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."